NOTES ON THE HAIDA LANGUAGE

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The following preliminary sketch of the Haida language is put together from notes made in the winter of 1900–01 which the writer spent on the Queen Charlotte islands in the interest of the Jesup North-Pacific Expedition and from a subsequent study of the texts obtained at that time. It is based mainly on the Skidegate dialect. The author had the advantage of previous access to the notes taken by Dr Boas and published in the *Fifth Report* of the committee appointed to investigate the north-western tribes of the Dominion of Canada by the British Association for the Advancement of Science.[1]

The phonetic system is similar to the systems of the neighboring coast tribes, abounding in *k*- and *l*-sounds, and in sounds requiring stress in articulation. The following table, drawn up like that in Dr Boas' *Sketch of the Kwakiutl Language*,[2] presents the scheme of consonants:

	Sonans	Surd	Fortis	Spirans	Nasal
Velar	G	q	q !	x	—
Palatal	g	k	k !	X	ñ
Alveolar	d	t	t !	s	n
Dental	dj	tc	tc !	—	—
Labial	b	p	—	—	m
Lateral	ʟ	L	L!	—	—
Laryngeal catch and breathing	ε			x	
	h, y, w.				

I have omitted the anterior palatal series, because the Haida sounds which should be classed under that head seem to me acci-

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[1] Newcastle-upon-Tyne Meeting, 1889.

[2] *American Anthropologist*, vol. 2, 1900 ; pp. 708–721.

dentally produced, owing to the presence of a following close vowel. *p* seems to occur only in onomatopoetic elements (*lA lA skĭttA'p-adāGAn*, 'he cut it in two'); *b* occurs not more than two or three times in strictly Haida words throughout my texts; and *m*, although considerably more abundant, is by no means common. The catch (ᵋ) is used in Masset instead of Skidegate *G*, and *ˣ* instead of Skidegate *x*. *x* is like German *ch* in *Bach;* X is similar, but pronounced farther forward. Even among old people the fortis-sounds are frequently reduced to simple pauses. This is particularly true of sounds formed far forward in the mouth. At other times they are uttered with rapidity and force. In recording my texts, I found it difficult to distinguish fortis-sounds from sonants. ᴸ sounds something like *dl*, and ʟ something like *tl* or *kl*. In both, the tip of the tongue touches the back of the teeth, and the air is expelled at the sides. *ʃ* is similar, but more of the tongue is laid against the roof of the mouth, and a greater volume of air allowed to escape. *ñ* is identical with English *ng* in such words as *string*.

The Haida themselves distinguish only six or seven vowels. They are *i* or *e;* *ī* or *ē;* *A, a, ā;* *o* or *u;* *ō* or *ū*. Those given in pairs do not seem to be distinguished from each other, though the difference between their long and short sounds is certainly recognized. Nor does there seem to be a great difference between *a* and *A*, the obscure sound. *ä* occurs occasionally, as if by accident, but *ȧ* is found only in Tsimshian words. *ĭ* seems to be an accidental *i*. There is, besides, a constantly recurring vowel combination which I have usually written *a-i*, but it sometimes sounds like *ei*, and often, especially in Masset, as *ē*. *u* and *a* in Masset are sometimes reduced to the slightest breathings.

Euphonic changes are not so numerous in Haida as in many other languages. *o* shows a strong tendency to change to *ao* under certain conditions. This may be due partly to the position of the accent, for *a* is frequently introduced to carry it. *dj*, followed by a vowel, frequently contracts to *s;* or, under reverse

circumstances, *s* changes to *dj* (*t!ēs*, 'rock'; *t!ĕ'dja-i*, 'the rock'). *l* and *ɟ* are mutually interchangeable (*-gɟs*, *-gialañ*, a suffix meaning 'toward the woods'), and *d* changes to *t* (*djat*, 'woman'; *djā'ada-i*, 'the woman'). A *g* is retained in the connective *ga-i* after some substantives ending in *a*; otherwise it is usually dropped (*ɟ*ᴳ*ā'ga-i*, 'the stone'; *Lua'-i*, 'the canoe'). In ordinary speech the terminal combination *-gᴀñas* shortens to *-gᴀns*. *g* in the Skidegate dialect changes to *x* or X in certain situations, apparently after dentals. *p* changes to *b* in the word *sĭp*, 'sea anemone,' when it takes the connective *ga-i* (*sĭ'ba-i*, 'the sea-anemone'). In the Masset dialect final *-ga* sometimes contracts to *-k*. Many consonants are not used together, but combinations of *s* followed by a *k*-sound or dental, and of *s* followed by *L*, occur frequently.

The entire sentence is brought into close union with the verb by a series of preceding elements which usually have the aspect of postpositions, though sometimes also of substantives. The substantives they follow may, however, be omitted; so it is evident that their dependence is mainly on the verb, and that they are to all intents and purposes verbal prefixes used to incorporate substantives and pronouns in the verb. Such "subordinating prefixes" are *Ga*, 'in'; *Gei*, 'into'; *gī*, 'to' or 'for'; *stᴀ*, 'from'; *qā'ɟi*, 'inside'; *xĕ'ɟi*, 'inside the mouth'; *aɟ*, 'with'. The subordinate conjunctions (like Ɬ*u*, 'when') belong to this series. Even *gien*, which generally has the appearance of a subordinate conjunction, is often used as equivalent to 'when,' and hangs upon the following verb. *Gie'nhao*, *qa'odihao*, etc., are generally used to introduce new ideas, *hao* being a sort of general demonstrative referring to all that has gone before. What has sometimes been called the article is rather one of these subordinating prefixes, which has a very general meaning and has come to be closely associated with substantives in certain situations.

Pronouns, or rather pronominal prefixes, precede the verb-stem, and are often at some distance from it, in which case they

are followed by one of the prefixes just referred to. There is a subjective and an objective series, as follow :

	Subjective Pronouns		Objective Pronouns
		Singular	
1st pers.	*ł*		*dī*
2d pers.	*dā*		*dʌñ*
3d pers.	*ł'* or *lʌ*		*ł'* or *lʌ*
3d pers. (indef.)	*nʌñ*		*nʌñ*
		Plural	
1st pers.	*t!alʌ'ñ*		*iʟ!*
2d pers.	*dalʌ'n*		*dalʌ'ñ*
3d pers.	*lʌ - - Go*		*lʌ - - Go*
3d pers.	*ʟ!*		*ʟ!*
3d pers. (indef.)	*ga*		*ga*

The indefinite forms, *nʌñ* and *ga*, are used with substantives more often than with verbs, and may then be translated 'a' or 'a certain' and 'some,' respectively, the former performing the functions of our indefinite article. They may, however, be used exactly like the other pronouns and occupy the same positions relative to the verb. *ʟ!* and *lʌ-- Go* now seem to be almost equivalent, but originally *ʟ!* appears to have been used for an indefinite number of known objects or persons. It is often employed in referring to a single unknown object, and has a secondary meaning as a polite or deferential expression, like the use of the third person plural in German. *lʌ -- Go* is simply the third person singular pronoun with a verbal suffix. Followed by the appropriate subordinating prefix, all of these forms may be used as third objects. The pure reflexive pronoun, *agʌ'ñ*, 'self,' is used in all respects like an objective pronoun, except, of course, that it never occurs as the subject of an intransitive verb like the latter.

Unlike most American languages, the order of pronouns is object, subject, verb. Occasionally a substantive and a subordinating prefix are placed between the pronominal subject and the verb, but the reverse is usually the case. When substantive subjects or objects are used, the corresponding pronouns are seldom

repeated. Sometimes, where a pronoun or its substantive has just been used with a preceding verb, the next verb may occur without it. The object or subject of a transitive verb may be simply understood, expressed by a substantive taken into the verb, or expressed by some prefix: *ɟdjila'da*, 'I have (something just referred to) for bait'; *nda dA'ñGa dī qï'ndA*, 'yours (you) let me see'; *ɟXuLā'Gasga*, 'I am going to drink (water).'

There is no separate series of independent personal pronouns, but independent possessives are formed by combining the objective pronouns with a suffix, *-Ga*. In the first person singular, however, the form is *nā'Ga* instead of *dī'Ga* which we should expect. In the third person singular and plural a second form, *A'ñGa*, 'his own,' is used as a reflexive possessive. With substantives the objective pronouns are prefixed and *-Ga* suffixed. Sometimes the suffix is omitted. Reflexive possession, 'one's own,' is indicated in substantives by a suffix, *-añ*, with no pronominal prefix. A word, *gia*, indicates possession in general (*dAñ-gia'Ga*, 'your thing' or 'your property').

Words indicating relationship have the plural suffix *-lAñ* (*l' qā'Ga*, 'his uncle'; *l' qā'GalAñ*, 'his uncles'). Otherwise plurality is left to the context or expressed by adjectives; *sk!ūl*, 'a crowd of,' in the case of human beings, and *qoan*, 'many,' in the case of animals or inanimate objects.

Demonstratives are very slightly developed in Haida. The prefix *a-* indicates objects near by; *wa-*, things farther away. They seem nearly identical with the English 'this' and 'that.' As independent demonstratives we have such words as *aɟā'nis*, 'a certain person'; *a'nAñ*, 'a certain thing'; *a'gosa*, 'this'; *wa'gosa*, 'that'; *a'djXua*, 'near by'; *wa'djXua*, 'far off' or 'some distance off.' *Ga-i* and *hao*, which have already been spoken of, have the significance of demonstratives.

In the verb proper are two principal series of prefixes, one indicating the instrument used in performing an action, the other the shape of an object referred to.

Among the first might be mentioned *ʟ-* and *da-*, 'to do things with the hands'; *ḳit-*, 'to do things with a stick'; *ḳiʟ-*, 'with the voice'; *q!e-it-*, 'with a knife'; *Go-* and *xaʟ-*, 'by fire'; *t!a-*, 'with the foot'; *sʟ!-*, 'with the fingers'; *q!o-*, 'with the teeth'; *xu-*, 'with the breath'; *ʟu-*, 'by canoe.' The last of these is identical with the word for canoe; *sʟ!-* and *ḳiʟ-* also occur almost independently as words for 'fingers' and 'voice.' Even verb-stems seem to do duty as prefixes of this order.

The second series of prefixes is still longer. Among them are *sq!a-*, long objects like sticks; *q!a-i-*, roundish objects; *t!a-*, objects like ropes or chains; *tcī-*, objects such as sacks or bags. These are often used separately, followed by *-dju*, 'sort,' 'kind.'

There are a few prefixes that cannot well be classed under either head. Such are *ga-i-*, which indicates that the object is floating upon the water; and *gʌn-*, which means that a set of people referred to are performing an action 'in a body.' In combination the instrumentals precede those indicating shape, and *ga-i-* comes before all.

More different kinds of ideas are indicated by suffixes than by prefixes.

Nearest to the stem are a few which define the particular sort of motion of which the verb-stem gives only a general idea. Such are *-Goñ*, motion by the feet, as in walking, and sometimes by the hands and feet, as in creeping; *-gîñ*, motion on the water, as in a canoe. This latter suffix is also used as an independent stem, and indeed the frequency with which two stems are combined in the same verb is quite remarkable.

A certain number of suffixes indicate direction of motion: *-ʟ!xa*, toward any object; *-t!aɈ*, down from above; *-Ɉ*, upwards; *-tc!a*, into a house; *-sGa*, seaward or to an open place; *-gîɈ*, landward or 'to cover.'

The largest body of these suffixes indicate various particular temporal relations of which the true temporal suffixes set forth a general idea. Under this head I include *-gʌñ*, the pure

continuative; -*gwañ*, which may usually be translated by the English word 'about,' and gives the idea of a great number of repetitions of an action; -*gǐn* or -*gǐni*, 'habitually' or 'customarily'; -*xǐt*, to begin to do a thing; -*gǐ*, to finish doing a thing; -*di*, which gives the idea that such and such an action was going on at a specified moment, and -*dal*, which tells us that the action expressed by the verb to which it is affixed was going on while some other motion was taking place. -*Lagañ*, which indicates that the action expressed by the verb was the first of a series, might also be added. The continuative, -*gAñ*, presents us with the only case of real duplication in Haida (*La qi'ñgañ*, 'he is looking at it'; *la qi'ñgAñgAñ*, 'he looks at it many times'), but its use does not replace that of plural personal pronouns. -*gǐ* often involves the idea of continuation of action rather than the end of action, but probably it then means continuation *to the end.*

The suffix -*ꞬGa* (Masset, *'odju*) means 'all.'

Negation is expressed by the independent particle *gAm* before the verb, and the suffixed syllable -*Gañ* within it.

The true tenses are present, past, two futures, and probably a perfect and a past perfect. Ordinary present time, or time conceived of as present, is indicated by no distinctive suffix. At times the continuative suffix -*gAñ* and the usitative -*gǐn* seem like tense suffixes, but neither is essential to this tense. The past tense takes a suffix, -*GAn* or -*GAni*,[1] and appears to be used precisely like our own. Before the quotative, *wAnsū'ga*, this suffix takes the form of -*añ*, unless, as is barely possible, the latter is the continuative. Simple future time, in the sense of 'I am going to,' is indicated by the suffix -*sga*, and infallible future occurrence (such and such a thing is bound to happen) by the suffix -*sañ*. The difference between these two futures is apparently identical with that between English 'will' and 'shall' in 'He will go tomorrow'; 'He shall go tomorrow.' The perfect is indicated by

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[1] The significance of this final -*i*, which occurs with a great many verbs, I have not yet discovered.

dieresis; for example: *La sudai'yaGAni ī'la la isda'si,* ' He did differently from what he had said (he would do).'   This may be used alone as a perfect, but more often, as in the above instance, it occurs in combination with the suffix of the past tense, thus forming a past perfect.

A curious phenomenon connected with the subject of tense is the use of a final *-s* or *-es* replacing the regular past ending *-GAn.* From a considerable study of this peculiar suffix I feel assured that it is really the contracted form of the verb ' to be,' *ē'dji,* and thus involves a simple affirmation that the statements just made *are* or *were* so.   It is thus not surprising to find it used after substantives as well as verbs.   A common use is after a substantive preceded by *nAñ,* when it has the force of a definite article. Thus, *nAñ Gā'xa* means 'a certain child '; *nAñ Gā'xas,* 'the child (already spoken of).'

Verb-stems are prevailingly monosyllabic, generally consisting of a consonant followed by a vowel.   A considerable number of verbs have entirely different stems for the singular and plural.

Auxiliary suffixes are extensively employed.   The principal ones are *-da,* ' to cause '; *-Geal,* ' to become '; *-xAʔ,* ' to tell '; *-siñ,* ' to say '; *-Ga,* ' to go '; *-ga,* ' to be '; and probably *-u,* ' to remain in one place,' as one does when he is sitting down or when he lives in a certain place for a time.

The number of moods is very limited.   Potentiality is indicated by the word *ʔiña.*   This may be used with verbs or substantives indifferently.   Thus we have *A'hao qa'-i-tʔiña'-ihao idjā'ñ wAnsū'ga,* ' These were the potential trees, they say ' (i. e. they were going to be the trees).   For the optative they use this word after the verb and some interjection before it.

The imperative is distinguished by an independent particle, *ʔ* (occasionally *L!*), all temporal suffixes being omitted.   Another particle, *gua,* is used to mark interrogation and corresponds to *na* of the Chinook jargon.

Infinitive and participial expressions are rendered either by

the use of the suffix -*es*, just alluded to, or by the general subordinating prefix *ga-i*. The former variety of expression partakes more of the verb, the latter more of the substantive: *NAñ qō'ɩGawa lA dā'Gas*, 'A slave belonging to him'; *GAm gī'na aɩ Lua'-i qaga'-i qea'ñgañasi*, 'They could not see what caused the canoe to move' or 'the thing causing the canoe to move.' The following is related to the first method: *A'hao gī'na Lua'-i giñgā'isLaiyaGAni ī'djañ*, 'This thing was the cause of the stopping of the canoe.'

When a clause depends on the same verb as one preceding, instead of repeating the verb a simple breathing, *A*, is used: *LA'gi L! djīlsLXidai'yaGAn, a'nAñ q!ā'-iGodies taɩdjū' gā'-isLia-i ɩu A*, 'They thought of giving her to him, when this island was half-covered with water (they thought of it).' Similar to this is the use of *wa-* before a subordinating prefix to refer to a whole clause (see below).

Adjectives depending upon a substantive are placed after it. When employed independently, they are treated exactly like intransitive verbs. Numerals, when used alone, must take one of the prefixes indicating shape already considered. They may, however, like all other adjectives, be taken directly into the verb as suffixes, and the classifier is not then essential (*L' ta'-idi-uɩAstia'-Gan*, 'He went to bed and stayed there two days'; *stīñ*, 'two'). The numeral 'one,' when suffixed, has the force of 'always,' 'forever.' At present the decimal system of counting appears to be in vogue, but the old blanket-count was vigesimal. A syllable, -*xa*, is suffixed to numerals and connectives to give a distinctive meaning (*sq!astī'ñ*, 'two long objects'; *sq!astīñxa*, 'two long objects apiece').

Motion in connectives is indicated by a suffix, -*et* (*sī'lia*, 'place'; *sīlie't*, 'motion to the place').

Substantives which would otherwise stand apart from the verb are followed by the subordinating prefix *ga-i*, which then gives somewhat the idea of our definite article. Some substantives are formed into verbs by suffixing the auxiliary -*ga* (*nAñ gī'da*, 'a child'; *nAñ gidā'gas*, 'one (who) is a child').

The quotative *wAnsū'ga*, 'they say,' is used extensively in the Skidegate dialect, but not at all in Masset.

The following Haida text will set many of these points in a clearer light:

Gie'nhao[1] *GaatxA'n*[2] *xōt*[3] *lA inaGeā'laGAn.*[3]   *Gie'nhao nAñ Gā'xa*
And then   one time   hair   he   married.   And then   a   child
                           seal   certain

lA qēGā'waGAn.[4]   *Gien GaatxA'n lA dA'ñat tc!ā'anu lA tā'nGaiyaGAn.*[5]
they   had born.   And   one day   with him   firewood   he   went for by canoe.

L' gī'tGa[6] *Gā'yagas*[7] *gi agA'ñ lA qea'gudaqaos.*[8]   *Gie'nhao hAn*[9]
His son   was fat   he was pleased at the sight of him   And then   like
                                   and wanted (to eat) him.

lA la sūdai'yaGAn[10]   "*DAñ Lgoa ʔ tā-ʔiñā'.*"[11]   *Gien ga'-istA*[12]
he   to him said   "You   nearly I   could eat."   And   from that

L! isgawa'-i[13] *ʔu*[13] *l' ʔtā'naogīgawa'-i*[14] *stA*[14] *hAn ā'wuñ*[15] *gi lA sī'wus*[16]
they came home when   they finished eating   after   like to his mother   he   said

"*Ha, ha, ā'wa-i,*[17] *dī Gō'ñGa*[18] *Lgu*[19] *dī sū'udas*[20] '*DAñ Lgoa ʔ*
"Ha,   ha,   mother,   my   father   how   said to me   'You   nearly I

tā-ʔiñā'.'"   *Gien hAn Xō'ya*[21] *sī'wus* "*NAñ Gaxā'*[22] *wA'stA*[23] *stē'da.*"[24]
could eat.'"   And   like Raven   said   "A certain child   from it   stop."

LA la kilGē'daxaiyañ[25]   *wAnsū'ga.*[26]   *Ga'-istAhao*[27] *lA la tā'gañ*[28]
He made him ashamed,   they say.   From that (time)   him he devoured,

wAnsū'ga.
they say.

NOTES

(1) *Gie'nhao* is the general introductory conjunction; *-hao* refers to all that has gone before.

(2) *Ga-* is perhaps the subordinating prefix 'in'; *at* is the subordinating prefix 'with' or 'of'; and *xAn* an adverbial particle meaning 'even,' 'still,' or 'yet.' It has the sense of 'exactly that' or 'right there,' and enters into a great many words like the above.

(3) *Xōt* is the object of the verb of which it is practically a part; *lA* is the personal pronoun of the third person singular, subject of the verb. The verb stem is *in-* or *ina-*; *-Geal* is the auxiliary meaning 'to become' and *-GAn* is the past temporal suffix.

(4) *LA* is the subject of the verb, and *nAñ Gā'xa* the object, *ʔAñ* being the indefinite pronoun of the third person singular. Since the child has not been spoken of before, *Gā'xa* does not take a final *-s*.

Qē- is the stem of the verb 'to be born'; *Gaw* is the same as *Go*, the plural suffix following *lA*. Thus *lA--Go* = 'they.' *GAn* is the suffix of the past tense.

(5) *LA* is the third object. The subordinating prefix, *dA'ñat*, is formed by means of a shorter subordinating prefix, *at*. *DA'ñat* gives a stronger idea of accompaniment than *at* alone. *Tc!ā'anu* is the substantival object. The word may mean 'firewood' or 'fire.' The second *lA* is the pronominal subject of the verb; the dieresis *-aiya* indicates that the action was completed, and *GAn* is the past temporal suffix.

(6) *ʟ'* is the prefixed objective pronoun of the third person singular, and -*ga* is the common possessive suffix.

(7) The word for ' fat ' is *ɢai*, -*ga* being the verbalizing suffix, and -*s* the definitive suffix which indicates that ' his son was fat ' is to be taken together. It therefore has the force of a participle, ' his son being fat ' or ' his son's fatness,' connected with the verb by the following particle *gi*, and may be considered a third object, the whole expression reading ' he pleased himself by sight on account of his son's fatness.'

(8) *Agᴀ'ñ* is the regular reflexive ' self ' and *lᴀ* the pronominal subject. *Qea* is from the stem of the verb meaning ' to look at,' but has the force of an instrumental prefix. *Guda* is probably the same as the word for ' mind ', *gū'dᴀñ* (' he desired in mind by looking '). -*s* is the same suffix we have in *ɢā'yagas*, taking the place of the regular past temporal ending -*ɢᴀn*.

(9) *Hᴀn* is always used with the verb ' to say,' preceding or following a quotation. It has the force of English ' like this ' or ' as follows.'

(10) *lᴀ* is the pronominal object ; *la*, the subject. The verb-stem is *sū-*, -*da* the causative auxiliary, -*aiya* the dieresis indicating perfection of action, and -*ɢᴀn* the past temporal suffix. This verb appears to be changed into the transitive by the causal auxiliary, but such is not the case. The verb is always transitive, whatever is said being evidently understood as its object.

(11) *ʟgoa* seems to be an adverb here, not a subordinating prefix. *Dᴀñ* is the regular objective pronoun of the second person singular, and *ɉ* the regular subjective pronoun of the first person singular. *Ta* is the common stem of the verb ' to eat,' *ɉiña*, the potential ending.

(12) *Ga'-istᴀ* is compounded of the general subordinating prefix *ga-i*, ' that ' (time, place, or what not), and *stᴀ*, ' from.'

(13) *ʟ!* is the subjective pronoun of the third person plural ; *is-* the shortened form of the verb ' to be ' ; -*gaw* is the same as -*gawañ*, the frequentative suffix which has dropped *ñ* before the subordinating prefix *a-i*. *ɉu* is the conjunction ' when,' and is really one of the subordinating prefixes so often alluded to. This clause might be rendered, ' when the coming home of them was accomplished.'

(14) *ʟ'* is the personal pronoun of the third person singular. With the suffix *ɢaw* it is used for the third person plural and is the subject of the verb. -*gi* means ' to finish,' and *a-i* is a subordinating prefix inserted like that in the preceding clause. *Stᴀ* is the same subordinating prefix we have had already in *ga'-istᴀ*.

(15) *ᴀ'wuñ* is composed of the stem *ao*, ' mother,' and the possessive suffix -*añ* (or *uñ*), one's own.

(16) *Gi* is the subordinating prefix ' to,' *lᴀ* the subject, and *si'wus* the same verb as *sū'udas* without the causative auxiliary -*da*.

(17) In direct address terms of relationship or terms of respect take the subordinating prefix.

(18) *Dī* is the objective pronoun of the first person singular, *ɢoñ* the stem of the word for a man's father, and -*ga* the ordinary possessive suffix.

(19) *ʟgu* is used continually as a sort of indefinite object, meaning ' in what way,' ' in a certain way.' *ʟ* by itself means the same thing, and *gu* is perhaps the subordinating prefix ' there,' ' at.'

(20) *Dī* is the objective pronoun of the first person singular, object of the verb following ; -*da* is the causative suffix and -*s* the definitive.

(21) *Xō'ya* is the regular Skidegate word for raven. At Masset *vᴇɉ*, the same

word as that employed by the Tlingit, is used.   Here it is the subject of the verb *sī′wus*.

(22) These two words have been discussed in the first line,

(23) *WA* is a particle used to sum up a preceding clause or statement when that is again referred to.   Here it stands for the words, ' saying I have a mind to eat you.'

(24) *-da* is the causative auxiliary.

(25) *LA* is the objective pronoun, third person singular ; *la*, the subjective.   *Kil-* is the instrumental prefix indicating the voice as the agent ; *-aiya* is the perfect, *-añ* the form of the past temporal suffix before *wAnsū′ga*.

(26) *-su-* is probably the stem of the verb ' to say,' and *-ga* an auxiliary, ' it is' or ' it was.'   Possibly *wAn* is the same as *wA* in *wA′stA*.

(27) *Ga-i* is the general subordinating prefix ; *stA*, the subordinating prefix ' from '; *hao*, the general demonstrative.

(28) *LA* is the pronominal object ; *la*, the pronominal subject ; *ta*, the stem ; *gAñ*, the past temporal suffix.